1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in seri-
862 ous danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents
[869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

861 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety.
862 His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being
• 152 pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only 152 subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[115] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 • 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives." 721 554 593

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit. 721 152

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was 721 593 578

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

121 however, she would be in the same dilemma as the one in
861 which Ham was placed, the negative side being much more serious, since it would be impossible for a girl of Buka's age to live alone in the Kwoma environment. Thus it is apparent that the primary effect of physical punishment is to make a pupil run away,[21] but that the strong acquired reward value which teachers have for the pupil, as a result of his dependence on them, and the fear of being alone, bind him to the teacher until he learns the habit which the teacher has wished to instill in him.

In the cases analyzed above the teacher was bigger than the pupil. When teacher and pupil are of the same size or when the pupil is bigger than the teacher, the response to punishment is often counterattack rather than running away.[22] The case of Fit and Mey illustrates this. Fit struck Mey for teasing him, and Mey grabbed a burning brand from the fire and began belaboring Fit with it. In this case Mey's drives were pain from Fit's blow, anger at Fit,[23] and the fear of being hit again; the response was attacking him with a firebrand; the cues were the sight of someone his own size and the feeling of the blow; and the rewards were reduction of the pain from Fit's blow, the reduction of the fear of being hit again, and the reduction of anger. Thus Mey was

[21] In the middle and upper classes of American society, pupils are not usually permitted to run away from punishment. They are either held by the parent or punished more severely if they attempt to escape. The usual response which is reinforced is the promise "I won't do it again." Furthermore, doing wrong in secret is more severely punished in the United States than at Kwoma. The American technique should be more effective in teaching the correct response, but, at the same time, it should produce more anxiety in the pupil than does the Kwoma technique. A correlation of the extent to which parents in various societies permit children to escape punishment and do wrong in secret, and the degree to which the society produces neurotic adults might be fruitful.

[22] When such a situation arises between adults, it is normally the reputation of the teacher and the pupil as fighters and the size of the group which supports each of them, rather than their physical size, which determines whether the pupil counterattacks or runs away.

[23] The conditions at Kwoma are such that anger as a response to pain is frequently reinforced, particularly with respect to younger siblings. See chap. iv, pp. 57–62.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
179 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123
593
595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on
[513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by
[252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19.
[482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box
[521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was
[522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and
[524] Kwos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her
[152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts
[522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.